DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 224 590 PS 013 259

AUTHOR Stewart, Donald E.
TITLE Violence and the Family. Institute of Family Studies Discussion Paper No. 7.
INSTITUTION Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne (Australia).
REPORT NO ISBN-0-642-88618-0
PUB DATE Oct 82
NOTE 13p.; Paper presented to the Victorian Association for Mental Health (Australia, July 12, 1982). One in a series of public lectures on "Mental Health, Violence and the Community."
AVAILABLE FROM Editor, Institute of Family Studies, 766 Elizabeth Street, Melbourne, 3000, Australia (no price quoted).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Viewpoints (120)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Battered Women; Child Abuse; *Family Problems; Females; Foreign Countries; Prevention; Research Needs; *Social Change; *Victims of Crime
IDENTIFIERS *Australia; *Family Violence

ABSTRACT

Psychological, sociological and social-psychological variables are involved in most cases of domestic violence in Australia. In general, the modern family faces external forces, pressures, and strains, as well as internal problems such as blurred generational and sex roles. Numerous characteristics of modern life (for example, the collapse of social norms) provide a setting in which violence can easily erupt. Rather than directly causing domestic violence, alcohol use is more likely to act as a trigger in a violent context. Some writers suggest that adequate explanations for domestic violence must be sought in the wider socio-historical context of human existence. To what extent, they ask, are men attempting through force to establish or maintain a patriarchal social order? Research reports from many countries reveal that it is in a marital setting that women are most likely to be involved in violence, in the great majority of cases as victims. Certainly, resources should be provided to preventive programs attempting to alleviate pressures and conditions associated with domestic violence. Additionally, further attention should be given to important issues concerning the power of the police to intervene in domestic situations and the legal rights of all women to be protected from violence in their homes. (RH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED224590

Donald E. Stewart

Violence and the Family

Lecture given by Dr Stewart to the Victorian Association for Mental Health on 12 July 1982 as one of their public lecture series on 'Mental health, violence and the community'.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☒ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

Institute of Family Studies Discussion Paper No. 7

PS 013259

As with all **Discussion Papers** in this series, the views expressed in this paper do not necessarily represent any official position on the part of the Institute. The papers are published to stimulate thought and discussion about matters affecting the well-being of families in Australia.

Titles in the Discussion Paper series are:

No. 1 Possible directions for an Australian family policy
No. 2 The family and the pre-school child
No. 3 Work and the family
No. 4 The changing face of childhood
No. 5 The rights of the child
No. 6 Family change and early childhood development
No. 7 Violence and the family

Copies of the above papers are available from the
Editor,
Institute of Family Studies,
766 Elizabeth Street,
Melbourne, 3000, Australia.

© Institute of Family Studies 1982
766 Elizabeth Street,
Melbourne 3000 Australia.

October 1982

National Library of Australia
Cataloguing-in-Publication data

Stewart, Donald E., 1947 –
Violence and the family.

Lecture given by Dr. Stewart to the Victorian Association for Mental Health on 12 July 1982 as one of their public lecture series on Mental Health, violence and the community.
Bibliography.
ISBN 0 642 88618 0.

1. Family violence – Australia.
I. Australia. Institute of Family Studies.
II. Title. (Series: Institute of Family Studies discussion paper; no. 7).

306.8'7

Typeset by Kasia Graphics
Printed by Lincoln Press

One of the paradoxes of our society is that the group to which most of us look for love and gentleness is also the most violent civilian group or institution in our society. And much of this violence is treated as normal or is laughed off. Attitudes towards violence range from the old joke which has one woman asking another why she feels her husband doesn't love her any more: the answer – 'He hasn't bashed me in a fortnight', to the often quoted maxim 'People are not for hitting'.

Aside from physical violence, there is also the emotional stress and conflict caused by verbal abuse, neglect of partner and children, and what comes under the catch-all term of 'mental cruelty'. Battering is not just physical injury, it is also being told how useless you are, and after being told enough times, starting to believe it.

But while there is no doubt that family violence, however defined, has always existed, what has been changing is the climate of opinion and general values held by many people towards the use of force between family members. Some years ago a noted family sociologist, William Goode, stated that 'the family, like all other social units, is a power system, resting to some degree on force or its threat'. This statement no doubt still holds, but there are signs that the exploitation of this force and the power relationships within families is being seriously questioned. In some areas, at least, patriarchal authority is being eroded in favour of democratic and consensual notions of relations between men and women, with the rights of children being voiced. To those who argue that all families provide a 'haven in a heartless world', one has only to point to the growth of women's refuges, rape crisis centres, women's health centres and the like, and the increasing demand for similar services.

It is probably impossible to ascertain the real incidence of domestic violence in our society. The sorts of figures that are available from legal aid centres, for example, would represent the tip of the iceberg, being gathered from those people whose position is sufficiently desperate to cause them to seek legal aid. The same could be said of figures from Marriage Guidance Councils, since 'happy' homes do not come to the attention of marriage guidance counsellors. In areas such as child sexual molestation, strong social taboos mean that information may be gained through such sources as the phone-in conducted by the Sydney Rape Crisis Centre in mid-1979 on sexual abuse during childhood and teenage years. There is no substantial research in Australia into sibling abuse, yet case work into aggression between brothers and sisters indicates its significance. Increasing problems with 'reconstituted' families and violence between step-, half- or new brothers and sisters have not been researched. The sensitive nature of the topic with cultural expectations of marital harmony, and fear of violent reprisals, makes family violence one of the most difficult areas in which to get accurate information.

One of the features of Australian society is the changing nature of the family both in size and composition, and in a real sense this affects the

'setting' in which family violence occurs. The changing family context includes an increase in divorce (from a crude divoree rate of 10 per 10 000 mean population in 1971 to 28 per 10 000 in 1981). This figure only reveals the extent of family 'break up' rather than 'break down'. It does not tell us of families in which there is constant tension and conflict, desertion, wife-bashing, child abuse or just plain misery. For these and other reasons, one-parent families have increased by 10 per cent from 1969 to 1980 and now make up 12.6 per cent (268 700 one-parent families) of all families in Australia. In 1980, 459 200 dependent children were living with one parent rather than two, and it is well recognised that such families suffer dis-proportionately from poverty and dislocation as the marital home is sold and parents are forced to find accommodation in cheaper suburbs, or inter-state, or with grandparents. Changing schools, travelling long distances to work, losing the support of close neighbours and friends, having antagonistic in-laws and other relatives, feelings of guilt, pain, anguish, remorse, bitterness and hostility together with the inevitable introspection and coping with emotional reactions that occur during these traumatic experiences, all provide a setting in which violence can easily erupt. Just plain old-fashioned physical and emotional exhaustion can overwhelm the tenderest of parents. Combined with the resentment and hostility that may be felt by children towards the three or maybe four parents – in 1978 one in three of all marriages involved partners who had been previously married – together with step or half brothers and sisters, the potential for misunderstandings and conflict is radically increased.

An increasing proportion of families is experiencing problems associated with unemployment, with close to half a million families affected. Unemployment is now double the 1974 rate and the average duration of unemployment has increased from 6.5 weeks (August, 1974) to 32.7 weeks (May, 1981). The impact of this factor, not only on the general sense of well-being in the families affected, but also on poor nutrition, inadequate housing, restricted opportunites to participate in community life generally, provides a context conducive to family violence.

The economic vulnerability of women in the workforce is also an important factor. As Prosser (1980) has pointed out, the pattern of involvement in the labour force by women is quite different to that of men. Besides being generally concentrated in low level positions and in service and support jobs, women tend to provide a pool of labour employed on a 'last on, first off' basis. During 1979, 15 per cent of the workforce (over 1 million people) were unemployed for some part of the year, and women, together with youth and recently arrived migrants provided a disproportionately large section of this group (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1979a).

For lone parents the unemployment figure was more than double that of their counterparts in married couple families, with one in nine of all female lone parents in the workforce unemployed as at July 1979 (15 400 women) of whom 12 400 were responsible for dependent children (Australian

Bureau of Statistics, 1979b). Such figures indicate that financial vulnerability may be a major reason why women remain in violent relationships. As the NSW Taskforce on Domestic Violence (1981) notes: 'choice becomes a meaningless concept when a woman is faced with the practicalities of finding housing, child care and employment, with no financial resources and little community support'. At a recent seminar on domestic violence, (1982) the results of a phone-in campaign on domestic violence were reported. Some 540 individuals contacted the Victorian Office of Women's Affairs, during the week 5-9 July 1982. Of these, over 32 per cent (175) reported that 'economic' reasons were paramount in their decision to stay in a situation of domestic violence.

The point I am making is that one cannot emphasise only the individual peculiarities of family members when examining domestic violence, and while specific characteristics of individual psychology are undoubtedly important, it is essential also to understand some of the structural factors that provide the context of family life in Australia. The sociological and contextual variables associated with violence, such as child abuse, are of great importance; statistics on infant hunger and malnutrition, mortality, economic adversity and social isolation, inadequate medical care, and poor education all provide a backdrop to family violence.

In short, while it seems to have become something of a cliché to refer to the period one is living through as a time of great or momentous change, the fact is that many families in Australia today are undergoing extensive and rapid changes which have left many floundering and perplexed. Many people have found themselves in circumstances in which social norms have collapsed, inducing a state of personal disorganisation which the sociologist Emile Durkheim called 'anomie'.

While there is some evidence indicating significant class differences in family violence, both the recent conference at the Australian Institute of Criminology (Scutt, 1980) on violence in the family and the report of the NSW Task Force on Domestic Violence (1981) concluded that violence can and does occur at all levels of society 'cutting across the style of family unit, class, race and ethnic lines', demonstrating that domestic violence knows no class or cultural barriers.

Of the 540 phone-in callers in 1982 in Victoria reporting the incidence of domestic violence, 28 per cent (152) were categorised as professional, 26 per cent (140) as clerical/secretary, 15 per cent (80) as retail, and 18 per cent (98) were employed in home duties. In addition, the standard of formal education of these callers consisted of 6.5 per cent (35) primary, 62 per cent (335) secondary, and 27 per cent (145) tertiary educated. These figures indicate a domestic violence problem across the class spectrum, even bearing in mind the class distribution of phone ownership, participation in 'public' discussion and other factors inhibiting a random sampling of callers.

While a common explanation of class differences has been to point to differences in socialisation practices between middle and working classes, other researchers have pointed out that incidents of the various forms of family violence are more likely to be reported of the poorer groups. There is evidence also that in 'affluent familes childhood injuries appear more likely to be termed "accidents" by the private practitioners who offer them their services' (Newberger and Bourne 1978:595). In addition, records derived from hospitals and the like may over-represent the poor as they are more likely to bring their children to the casualty wards of hospitals than people with higher incomes.

One of the explanations frequently advanced for domestic violence is the effect of alcohol. There is little doubt that alcohol and family violence are related; there is more doubt about whether the former *causes* the latter. For example, in the phone-in reported at the workshop on domestic violence (1982), of the 540 phone-callers, 350 (65 per cent) stated that it was alcohol which started the domestic violence. However it has been noted (NSW Task Force, 1981:33) that alcohol, by making people act 'out of character', provides a rationalisation for violent actions, and that the problem is not alcohol as such, but that it acts as a trigger in a violent context.

Some writers have discussed the attitudes and values of our culture which sanction violence as a way of life; that we live in a culture-of-violence. For example, our cultural norms of child rearing allow the use of a certain amount of physical force towards children by adults caring for them. The mass media, particularly television, provide a diet of violence and aggression. As one newspaper recently reported: 'With the 1982 football season in full swing, violence is again dominating our TV screens, as youngsters are treated to close-ups of spite, violence and niggling' (*Australian* 1/5/82).

A few writers have suggested that we must go beyond the individuals or couples involved in violent marriages and episodes, and beyond research which is primarily oriented to determining the background characteristics of offenders and/or victims, and look for explanations in the wider socio-historical context. To what extent does Australia's European heritage, both in terms of violence and from the point of view of family life, affect the ability of families to survive? To what extent are men trying to preserve or assert their authority and dominance through force and attempting to establish or maintain a patriarchal social order?

Research reports from many countries reveal that it is in a marital setting that women are most likely to be involved in violence, and this is usually as victims not attackers. Research findings consistently establish the association between intimate relationships and homicides and assaults, and they also establish that both homicides and assaults are more likely to be committed by men than by women. In an extensive review of the literature, two authors (Dobash and Dobash, 1978) point out that the term 'spousal violence' should not obscure what is to all intents and purposes wife beating.

Some of the problems concerning information on family violence have been noted; these, combined with non-detection, non-reporting and lack of national standardisation of available statistics and definitions, leave significant data gaps. There are, however, a few sources of data available. Anne Deveson, as part of her work with the Royal Commission on Human Relationships (1977), estimated that there could be as many as 13 500 cases of battered children each year in Australia, or 37 children physically injured each day. In Brisbane it has been estimated that fatal child abuse is now the third major cause of violent death in Australia for pre-school children (Pearn, 1981) with 3.77 per 100 000 at risk, and the fifth major cause of violent child death of all children from 0-15 (0.57 per 100 000 at risk).

The frequency of child sexual abuse is quite unknown, but Heilpern (1981) has estimated that 70 to 75 per cent of offenders are known to the child, with 20 per cent of offenders being parents or parent-figures, and that the home is a common site for the offence. In an analysis of 252 cases at the Sexual Assault Referral Centre in Perth, Cooper (1981) reported that 31 per cent of cases of child abuse under the age of 13 were incestuous relationships, with 10 per cent of girls in the 13-18 year age group also in this class. In a large study of 950 families in the western suburbs of Sydney where a child was subjected to physical abuse, 45 (5 per cent) of the mothers reported, in retrospect, the occurence of incestuous relationships while they themselves were still children (Waterlow, 1981). It is interesting to note that in none of these 45 cases was the incest reported at the time of its perpetration.

In an Australian Bureau of Statistics survey of crime victims (1979c) in 1975, some 7800 women (aged over 15 years) reported that they had been raped in the previous 12 months. Only 30 per cent of the victims knew whether the incident was known to the police. About 45 per cent of the offences (where location was reported) occurred inside or near the house, and over 50 per cent of the offenders were known to the victims.

In a survey of about 300 parents presenting for marriage guidance counselling in NSW, it was estimated that in about 27 per cent (88) of the cases the husband had beaten his wife (Lovejoy and Steel, 1980), and in about 4 per cent the woman had beaten the man. In about 4 per cent (12 cases) both spouses were violent, and 13 cases involved violence by either parent towards the children. Drink and jealousy were the major reasons given by the spouses for the violence.

In another survey in Sydney (O'Donnell and Saville, 1980), a search of the records of an inner city legal aid centre found that, of a total of 3486 cases handled over a 17 month period, 680 (19.5 per cent) were concerned with domestic matters, and of these, 150 (22 per cent) involved violence to some degree – nine out of ten being men assaulting women.

There are currently about 100 refuges in Australia and O'Donnell and Saville (1980) note that over 60 per cent of all residents have experienced violence from their partners during the course of their relationship. From March 1974 to June 1976 refuges sheltered over 5000 women and 7000 children. The NSW Task Force on Domestic Violence (1981) noted that the 33 women's refuges in New South Wales assisted about 11 000 women and children in 1980, and turned away over 3000 more for lack of space. These figures would be much higher if other church and welfare institutions were included – together with the women turned away from all refuges and institutions due to lack of accommodation.

Evidence on marital murder from New South Wales (Rod, 1980) indicates that 'murder is typically a family affair'. A study of New South Wales police files on marital murder for the periods 1958-67 and 1976-78, reveals that about a quarter of all the victims of men are their wives and 40 per cent of all victims of women are their husbands. In a large proportion of these cases there had been a history of assault. Rod suggests that spouse murders can be seen as extreme outcomes of a more general pattern of domestic violence. Figures such as these only reveal those who are willing, or able, to report instances of family violence.

In Family Impact Seminars held by the Institute of Family Studies over the last two years, submissions were received from the public in all States and the Northern Territory requesting further research into family violence. Suggestions for further research included the areas of child abuse and child sexual abuse, the incidence of and attitudes towards domestic violence, the role of the Family Court in dealing with custodial decisions where violence may be a factor, the need for predictors of violence in family conflict and research into appropriate intervention strategies, and the need to establish 'parent help centres' to assist with domestic violence towards children. Details were also given of various organisations set up to deal with the problem, such as Kalimna Project in Queensland (Institute, 1981a:2-3) which is designed to assist families who abuse or neglect their children; 'Parents Anonymous' in Victoria (Institute, 1980:12-13), a self help group for parents who abuse or fear they may abuse their children; and the Northern Territory Child Protection Consultative Committee (Institute, 1981b:10).

There is considerable legal uncertainty about the role of police in domestic disputes despite their role as a primary contact service. Limited data from various Police Districts indicate that domestic complaint calls constitute a large proportion of all 'peacekeeping' calls. There is a grey area in which competing philosophies meet. On the one hand, from the point of view of civil liberties, there would undoubtedly be grave community concern were the police to be given unrestricted right of entry to private premises for the purposes of dealing with domestic disputes – and thus invade the privacy of the home. On the other hand, domestic calls may be urgent and serious, where prompt action may prevent a serious crime of violence (i.e. assault), and prevent a tragedy, rather than prosecution of an offender after the assault has occurred.

The NSW Task Force survey (1981) revealed that 27 per cent of the 451 responses from women who have been or are in a violent relationship mentioned police as the 'first source contacted' – the most frequently mentioned agency. The police were also rated second as the 'most used source of assistance' (61.7 per cent). In the Victorian phone-in (*Domestic violence*, 1982) 24 per cent (130) of callers mentioned that they had spoken to the police about their domestic situation – exceeded only by 32 per cent (175) who talked to a doctor, and equalled by those who talked to friends. However of the 95 callers who approached the police for help, only 22 per cent (21) stated that they had found them helpful.

As recently pointed out (*Domestic violence*, 1982), police have limited powers when attending domestic disputes, and may be sued for damages for exceeding their powers. For example:

- A police officer has no general right to enter private property for the purpose of questioning someone, seeking information or looking for evidence.
- All common law powers of arrest have been withdrawn by section 457 of the Crimes Act, and police are not empowered to arrest any person without warrant for a summary offence of assault unless they find that person offending.
- Police are not empowered to demand the name and address of a suspected assailant found in the vicinity of a 'domestic'.

A variety of schemes have been considered and suggested to provide more clarity in this difficult area (NSW Task Force 1981; *Domestic violence*, 1982; South Australian Women's Advisors Office, 1981). For example, the NSW Task Force suggested that a warrant held at station (i.e. a woman believing herself to be at risk of domestic violence by a certain man could fill out a form providing a warrant of entry by police for a three month period), or a warrant book/domestic violence book (providing limited legal authority) could provide clear power of entry to allow the investigation of complaints of domestic violence. Chief Inspector Baker (*Domestic violence*, 1982) proposes that the problem should be responded to through (a) Intervention Orders to deal with the summary offence situation when appropriate; and (b) provision of adequate investigative powers to proceed with the more serious indictable offences.

Under the *Family Law Act* married women have the right to institute proceedings for an injunction, allowing a civil remedy. While there is some division of opinion as to the effectiveness of legal injunctions against domestic violence, women in de facto marriage relationships do not have this course of action available to them – they have, instead, to institute criminal proceedings. The same type of offence may thus be treated differently. As the NSW Task Force pointed out, some women may be reluctant to involve their de facto husband in criminal proceedings, and furthermore, de facto wives are unable to receive the benefits of injunction orders restricting the occupation of the matrimonial home.

One issue which is becoming a subject of increasing debate is the provision of supervised access centres. In situations where access visits have been ordered by the Family Court, it is frequently necessary for ex-spouses to meet. For a woman who has been assaulted by her partner, these meetings provide the potential for further violence through highly emotional confrontations. Some people consider that the Federal government should make provision of supervised access services (NSW Task Force, 1981). However the Principal Director of Court Counselling notes that 'the overall opinion of the Court Counselling Service (is) that such places would be undesirable' (Letter to Trade Unions reported in *National Times* 31/7/82), on the grounds that they would be more likely to increase rather than decrease violence, would use up scarce resources, and would be one more tax burden.

Despite the picture of gloom and despondency that has been painted, it should be pointed out that marriage and family formation is still highly popular. The great majority of adults and children in Australia belong for most of their lives to formally constituted families, in fact 'more than nine out of ten Australians will marry at least once in their lifetime and some five-sixths of all Australian babies are both conceived and born in wedlock' (National Population Inquiry, 1978). Most Australians will ultimately marry – over 95 per cent of women and 91 per cent of men marry before age 45, a higher 'marriage popularity' than ever before.

However forces external to the family produce great pressures on family life, and family relationships have to cope with tremendous strains. Internally, within the family there are changing relationships and blurred roles between the sexes and between differing generations, which have the potential to produce resistance, confusion and guilt, and in some cases anger and frustration.

Many institutions and organisations have recognised this fact and are attempting to provide services to alleviate the pressures which build up. Moreover there is a need to recognise that such services need resources such as staff and funding, and at a deeper level to recognise that violence in all types of families exists and community involvement and support for those in need should be encouraged. This must be a high priority. In addition, since it has become clear that economic dependence is a major factor in keeping women and children imprisoned in violent relationships, steps which reduce this isolation and dependence should be encouraged. For example a greater awareness by employers of family needs, leading to flexible work hours and low cost child care, would be an important contribution.

The NSW Task Force (1981) pointed out that long range prevention of family violence requires a variety of programs, including education programs, programs which will help promote the economic independence of women, children's services, and support groups for women. Of immediate concern to the Task Force was increased provision in regard to the education and

training of doctors, nurses, social workers, welfare workers, police, lawyers and magistrates, so that such professional workers would have an increased awareness of the issue of domestic violence, and also serve in the cause of assistance and prevention.

Pearn (1981) recently noted in relation to child abuse that it is probably only in some 10 per cent of cases of physical abuse that the abusing parent(s) is psychotic. In the vast majority of cases, therefore, other psychological, sociological and social-psychological variables are involved. The search for the roots of family violence in Australia should examine the multidimensional factors involved, including norms which tolerate and mandate violence, beliefs about male and female sex roles, structural sources of violence and sexual inequality. The highly treasured 'privacy' of the family must be weighed against evidence which suggests that many families serve as a training ground for violence. Family units will no doubt survive in our present society, but the costs in human misery of violence within families will endanger their viability unless we maintain our concern.

REFERENCES

Australian Bureau of Statistics, (1979a), *Labour force experience*, Cat. no. 6206.0, Canberra

– – –, (1979b), *Labour force status and other characteristics of families*, Cat. no. 6224.0, Canberra.

– – –, (1979c), *General social survey : crime victims, May 1975*, Cat. no. 4105.0, Canberra.

– – –, (1980), *Social indicators, no. 3*, Cat. no. 4101.0, Canberra.

Cooper, R., (1981), 'Sexual abuse of children: an analysis of 252 cases', in Second Australian Conference on Child Abuse, Brisbane Session A8A.

Dobash, R.E., and Dobash, R.P., (1978), 'Wives: the "appropriate" victims of marital violence,' *Victimology*, No. 3-4, pp. 426-42.

Domestic violence: a multidisciplinary workshop to explore current attitudes and government policy to issues involved in domestic violence, held at the Human Resource Centre, La Trobe University, 26-27 July 1982.

Heilpern, S., (1981), 'Education and training in child protection,' in Second Australian Conference on Child Abuse, Brisbane, Session A1A.

Institute of Family Studies, (1980), *Family Impact Seminar, Melbourne, Vic.: submissions.*
– – –, (1981a), *Family Impact Seminar, Brisbane, Qld: submissions.*
– – –, (1981b), *Family Impact Seminar, Alice Springs and Darwin, Northern Territory: submissions.*

Lovejoy, F.H. and Steel, E.S., (1980), 'Staying together for the sake of the children: spouse beating and its effect on the children', in *Violence and the family*, edited by J.A. Scutt, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

National Population Inquiry (1978), *Report*, (Chairman: W.D. Borrie), AGPS, Canberra.

Newberger, E.H., and Bourne, R. (1978), 'The medicalisation and legalisation of child abuse', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. 48, (4), pp. 593-608.

New South Wales Task Force on Domestic Violence, (1981), *Report*, Sydney

O'Donnell, C., and Saville, H., (1980), 'Sex and class inequality and domestic violence', in *Violence in the family* edited by J.A. Scutt, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Pearn, J., (1981), 'Child accidents and accidents in the home', in *Transactions of the Menzies Foundation*, Vol. 1, Melbourne.

Prosser, B., (1980), 'Families and work', *Family Information Bulletin No. 1.* Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne.

Rod, T., (1980), 'Marital murder', in *Violence in the family*, edited by J.A. Scutt, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Royal Commission on Human Relationships, (1977), *Final Report*, Vol. 4, Part V, 'The family', AGPS, Canberra.

Scutt, J.A. ed., (1980), *Violence in the family*, Australian Institute of Crimonology, Canberra.

South Australia. Women's Advisors Office, (1981), *Report and recommendations on law reform*, (Domestic Violence Committee, Department of Premier and Cabinet), Adelaide.

Waterlow, G. (1981), 'Child abuse and neglect: a sequel of incest. A commentary on selected aspects', in Second Australian Conference on Child Abuse, Brisbane, Session A1.